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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

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127 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and 1., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

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/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Machareti where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Machareti.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Machareti, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C G 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cusco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandía (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that García's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race: asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 2). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guaraní at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chorographica...) and Mendiburu (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburu's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guaraní had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

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/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 79) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

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decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija; the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caiguará. The Indians of Jerusquisaba and Carayasapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz de la Sierra."

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

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They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2. p. 51.)

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novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

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EG 175 648 In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

G4 114 175 167 174 The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

G4 175 167 [101] [131] The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1):

> 1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

G4 175 167 648 Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

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Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In C Ce 175 648 567 727 the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 799 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [799] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 799 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 799 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

Ce 175 648 [797]

/325 cont./ of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C Ce 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C G [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 /327 cont./ 727 567 266 648 Ce 648 175 brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

C [252] C Ce [726]

C 173 727 727 648 Ce 648 173 186 C [266] Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

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The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

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1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

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It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

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Ce Ce 175 648 ce [172]

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Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Ce 648 178 131 ce [162] [101]

/329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

ce 191 [101] c [197] ce [198]

Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce 648 186 c [186] c [101]

The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

ce 172 167

Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./ The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596 Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17 Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167] They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

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This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

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At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

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The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

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From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

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On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

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Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

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175 /332 cont./ Permanent
[3] villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques.
[361] The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to
[621] the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco.
161 The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures,
[114] given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

131 Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed
[178] about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less
[162] undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark
161 the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the num-
131 ber of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

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1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

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226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are marvelous swimmers.
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439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

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1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

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439 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their
[484] nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

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these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

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/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175 [401] [179]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from poniente, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish./

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

195 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

195 199 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII. 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

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Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

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Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--369 E-5 (1959) 1980 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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757 271 wet their finger and moisten his lips (Campana, p. 113). The patient must also drink this water.

757 [175] Chiriguano medicine in the 18th century. A manuscript of the 18th century, written by Father Manuel Mingo and kept in the Library of the College de Tarija, contains information of the greatest interest on the way in which the Chiriguano used to doctor themselves when they were still independent. Here is the translation of the passage in question:

"The manner in which they doctor themselves in case of sickness is curious. Sometimes, when they feel sick, they go immediately to bathe inside their house in jars or a wooden basin. Sometimes they have several herbs applied, which they go to get in the fields or thickets. Sometimes also they allow an enema or clyster to be administered to them. This instrument (according to what I could see at Tariquea) is also very curious. It comes down to a small calabash or hollow gourd with a round opening on top and a small hole at the bottom. In the lower part one fastens or puts a hollow nozzle or a small hollow reed corresponding to the nozzle. One pours through the top (that is, through the large round opening arranged in the swollen part of the calabash) a broth of urine with salt. After that, the one who is acting as nurse or orderly blows hard through the upper part or from the top by pressing his lips to the opening or window of the calabash, and the force of the breath makes the liquid pass into the patient's intestines." (Fol. 107-108).

Nordenskiöld (14, pp. 184-196), who in a recent book went full length into the matter of the various instruments utilized by the American Indians for giving enemas, distinguishes two types: those which are provided with a rubber or leather bulb or a bladder, and those which amount to a simple tube. The one described for us with such a wealth of details by our missionary belongs to the second type, although /488/ exhibiting some similarities with the first. It can be considered as intermediate between the two.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leco*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Yuracare*, *Leco*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group.

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chiripuno*) (map 1, *No. 3*; map 2; map 8, *No. 3*) are the descendants of the *Guarani* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Rio Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–22° S., long. 62°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents.

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guarani* Indian who spoke to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guarani* and brought to Inati told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513-18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo Garcia took part. The *Guarani* migration described by Diego Felipe de Alvaya, curate of Mizque, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Candia (1931 a, p. 24), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guarani* from the region of Inati to the Provinces of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayo-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guarani* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1528. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solis armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo Garcia, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Diaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26–30) statement that Garcia was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guarani* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 18° S., and invaded the borderlands of the Inca Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the Chaneze (Chiriki), the invaders returned, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (Chiquitos), Aleja

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 Garcia was killed by the Guaraní. The historical character of Alejo Garcia's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, notably in the "Commentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 379-380). The success of this raid prompted many more Guaraní to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jerapalindo and Caraynguera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díez de Gamboa, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú or Itatieros*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martín González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they remember the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So were those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Carios* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 40 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Carios* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Cunilla, 1933 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically assured that the 1,000 or 1,500 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1544 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even further to the north and settled near the border of the *Moxo* and *Baure* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piriguazuri*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* incursions, which started as plundering raids along the Inca frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Carcara* (*Charcas*, *Chichas*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their incursions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 .42 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an Inca Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaipata (Samaypata), Saipurú, and Cumumpampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 183) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguana*, of the *Chiriguanas*' capture of the fortress of Cumumpa (probably Samaipata), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yaure. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 648

face Izozueños were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Isoseños and Izozoneti. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

C Ce 648 195 Ce [197] C [266]

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

C [186] Ce [197]

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Macharetí, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

C Ce 175 648 162

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Berrueza. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

C 175 797 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzáles, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Cassano, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiaca, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purisima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/71 cont./
174 complete savagery (2).
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2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567] [266]

2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
648 promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[125] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Caraparicito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

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175 It is also a verified historical fact that after the dis-
169 covery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[Text continues on P. 105]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197]

2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

175 648 [131] [161]

/73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

[729] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

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/74 cont./ wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

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The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (2), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 260 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/75 cont./

175 797 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 167 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/80 cont./

46 well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

799 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

080 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

799 But let us return to the primary object of this section.
• 175 We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O. F. M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

/82 cont./

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●175 these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this cleric, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a sine qua non condition, the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

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A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

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175 The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

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●175 We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361] 1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [163] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as *one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.*

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

● 175 648 [103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Machareti with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Machariteños /persons from Machareti/ Barapiche, Arasuqui, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepóna.

/96 cont./

175 648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 [131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivo and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 59' 42" west longitude.

799 361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Convento which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Ibayuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

799 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy: it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress: in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

4: Nino--166 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/120 cont./

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1893

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

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Fencing and Dueling

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Canguataventa against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Gilracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Gilracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Pampitt in order to repress the audacity of Tovean, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/123 cont./

797 829 179 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

000

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

• 175 511 [132] [146] Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

4: Nino--293 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/216/

Chapter Nine

Children. Puberty. the Tembeta (1)

881

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

799 533 At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 194/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These [124] are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Porogí and Tarija missions.

All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers [248] were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

195 248 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have had hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

/217 cont./

195 GAE 799

The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí: in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones: one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons: the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

> 1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders: the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

799 SF 195 GAE

As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly: some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

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4q Nino--389 M-2 (1893-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

/273 cont./

History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt Chiriguano or Chirihuano, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Cuevuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapûi with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

Schwedenbibl E-4,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF1

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Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

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A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the »thno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

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I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

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ScNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

the tracts they now occupy.[1] [2] They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adoptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed und the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the »material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

[2]) MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no domiciliation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIÖLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

8cNordenskiöld E-8/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. Chomé[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chirigiuano and Chané.

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for Schmidel writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris». Of what material this »canutillo» was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 204. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber haben ein kleins röelein gemacht in dem lefzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.»

[4]) Medina (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,¼ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ea 301 171* [175]

sarily, post-Columbian. CASTILLO[1]) mentions silver tembetas from Mojos as early as the 17th century, and in Ecuador a tembeta of gold has been found.[2]) CHOMÉ[3]) writes of the Chiriguano: »Les hommes se percent la lévre inferieure, ils y attachent un petit cylindre d'étain, ou d'argent ou de resine transparente.» It is not impossible that the Indians of this part, viz. the Chané, had lip-buttons of silver in pre-Columbian times.

The highly specialized type of tembeta which I have here likened to a cap with both front and back peak, is not now found in use in S. America elsewhere than among the Indians here dealt with and some few Tapiete who learned its use from the Chiriguano.

Similar tembetas of stone have been found at the Rio Negro in Patagonia[4]), in San Juan[5]) in Argentine, in central Chili[6]), at Tiahuanaco[7]); at Parana-Mini[8]), Minas Geraes[9]) and Pernambuco[10]). Here may also be included a tembeta of gold described by RIVET and VERNEAU from Chordeleg in Ecuador. This type of tembeta is also found in Mexico and in western N. America. This lip-button is best characterized by saying that, when inserted in the lip, it looks like a round disc.

The type of lip-button most closely resembling these described here, have a more or less spike shape when seen from the side. While the Chiriguano tembeta projects either not at all or very slightly beyond the lip, in the spike-shaped

[1]) P. 340.
[2]) RIVET (4) and VERNEAU Pl. XXIV, Fig. 10.
[3]) P. 331.
[4]) LEHMANN-NITSCHE (4).
[5]) DERBERBERTI (4) P. 38.
[6]) MEDINA (1); UHLE (9) P. 8.
[7]) UHLE (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 19, Fig. 23 and 24.
[8]) DERBERBERTI (4) P. 37.
[9]) NETTO Pl. 8.
[10]) » »

6: Nordenskiöld--19 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remember that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Matacco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilaso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilaso de la Vega. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

6: Nordenskiöld--20 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/167 cont./

C 175 648

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

C 175 797

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Ea 829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

C Ca [173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Río Parapití told me they had first lived on the upper Río Parapití (1), but were driven away from there by a

Ca 173 68 [173]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ca [173]

great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Río Paraguay, which river,

Ca [167]

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Matacco.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
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"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

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Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

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[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (16).
[2] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 150.

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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, data in this source which have been specifically subheaded for the Guarani file, in regard to culture contacts and foreign relations, may equally apply to the Chiriguano. The researcher is therefore advised to consult text category 116, pp. 6-25 for this additional data./

C 114 Ee [199]

/2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

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General Information

C 114 361

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 321 [632] [799]

Figure 1[3]A presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

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3/A [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

/6 cont./

174 175 167 648 c [101] Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce [173] [648] In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi 175 648 The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, Gi [56] [729] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /?/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. Ce [648] [81] The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

C Gi 648 173 [567] [727]

St Schmidt--14 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 Guaran; SM4

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/7 cont./
continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the Llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Pozo or of Mizque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

R. Schmidt--15 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF5
Guaraní SM4

/7 cont./ By continuously enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xoxes, the Mares, and the Tuacares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguanos, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 600 Chiriguano of the province of Macharetí were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Fr Schmidt--16 S-5 (1930) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Guaraní SM4

/I cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /E/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno E. pp. 280 and 294.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate tribes in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1880. In Moreno E. p. 294.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika) /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912. pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord I.

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

Ac Schmidt--17 8-6 (1980) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani 344

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this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Aleijo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuño de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Yaubeguaca, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Memorial II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Candori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Memorial II, p. 95.

R Schmidt--18 E-S (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 204.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1594, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poro or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

R Schmidt--19 E-5 (1981) 1988 SF10 Chiriguano SF20
Guarani SM4
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/9 cont./ while
Nuño de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the Ilanes. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the Ilanes Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipuc. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestre General of the Province, Don Salvador Pauli, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 341.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 381.

R. Schmidt--SD R-6 (1995) 1998 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Guarani 3414

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The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuño de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martín, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuño de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 130.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherías and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 213.

fr Schmidt--21 E-5 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani 3M4

/10 cont./
some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Paraí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

> 33. Moreno II, p. 107 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Paraí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

> 34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

> 35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

St Schmidt--22 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II. p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II. p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II. p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

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/10 cont./ Through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C Gi [113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

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The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

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As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 148 Ce 148 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 142 •175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ee 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

8: Schmidt--96 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Río Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

195 316 648 [169]

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurin, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

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Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1. p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 319 [439]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

Ce 178 443 [114] [248]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

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312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (? 4).
[195 029 632]

314. Moreno II, p. 344.

631 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz,
632 Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that
643 is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made
103 up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Aoqué, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (? 5).

315. Moreno II, pp. 173 and 174.

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C •195 648 631 We have interesting data from the 18th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of cayguru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapes up to this road from pozo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno II, p. 129.

C Ch 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [928] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques.

Ch 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of 000 his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

C Ca /86 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 250 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ca [86]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /és/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané, 648 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated 567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ca [567] [648]

320. Moreno II, p. 90].

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

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/80 cont./

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Outside of these subjects incorporated directly into the Chiriguano communities, several tribes of Indians subjugated by the Chiriguano were their tributaries, that is, the tributaries of their individual parcialidades. These tribes had to pay fixed tributes and to lend services as allies in war (322). Such tribu-

322. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125, 117.

taries of the Chiriguano of the province of Tvytupue were the Tamacocies, the Xeres, and the Turucarés. In the "Carta /letter/ from Don Lorenzo de Figueroa" of the year 1566 it says that the Tamacocies and Xeres and Turucarés had not assisted the Chiriguano of the parcialidad of Virupue, seeing that they might be defeated by the Spaniards. From this report it can be surmised that as tributaries, they might have been obligated to aid their masters. From the "Confesión del Mas negro," who had lived for a long time as a prisoner among the Chiriguano, we learn what made up the tributes that the three tributary tribes had to pay to the parcialidad of Thytupue (324). "They

324. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125.

pay tribute in this way, the Xeres poisonous herbs for their arrows, and the Tamacocies, Indian men and women, bows and arrows, and fish and game and guacaws, and the Turucares give them coconuts and turkey feathers and chonta palm for making arrows." Moreover the same source says that the Chiriguano of Tendi and Aparo, Aguapea, and Caripui had contracted with the Chuis-Indians of the town of Míñque to provide them "with powdered saltpeter, stone, sulfur, axes, crowns /coronas/, chipanas, scissors, knives, and other things" (325).

325. Moreno II, p. 121.

/of corn./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

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726 /88 cont./
912 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113] 356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Profesor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

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/89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Toicakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 20 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyán"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 222.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family